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SOME ASSYRIANIZING IVORIES FOUND AT NIMRUD: COULD THEY BE URARTIAN?

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After Austen Henry Layard and Hormuzd Rassam ceased work at Nimrud in the early 1850s, the Trustees of the British Museum asked Henry Rawlinson, the British Resident in Baghdad, to take charge of excavations there. During a visit to Assyria in 1852 he reopened excavations in the North West Palace and wrote to the Trustees that he had cleared out the room 'where Mr. Layard found bronzes and chased copper vessels' and the one next to it, where he found 'a set of ivory ornaments, some of them very beautifully carved, but all more or less injured' (Rawlinson to the Trustees April 21, 1852, Transcripts 83 and 85). These ivories were identified by Richard Barnett and published in 1957 in his *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum* (Figs. 23.02 and 23.08a and b), Barnett 1957a (revised edition 1975): 183-184, F.1-F.4: see now Herrmann 2009: 174-177 nos. 200-207, pls. 28-31).[1] Although with an obvious debt to the art of Assyria, Barnett suggested that the panels were 'executed by Syrian, not Assyrian, craftsmen. The hair-riband, the lock of hair before the ear, the pointed shoes, the reversed sceptre, the shape of the sceptre head, and particularly the fruit growing from the winged disc's tail, are all details unfamiliar in representations from genuinely Assyrian scenes', and he pointed out similarities with reliefs from Sakçe Gözü (Barnett 1957a: 183).

In 1965 Helmuth Kyrieleis proposed an Urartian rather than a North Syrian origin for these ivories because of similarities with ivories from Toprakkale and with bronze siren handles found in the Van region. His hypothesis has been strongly disputed, with scholarly opinion preferring Barnett's original suggestion of an origin in the region of Sakçe Gözü. However, comparisons can be made between some Rawlinson ivories and the ivories from Altıntepe, Toprakkale and unprovenanced material said to come from Ziwiye, as well as with stone sculptures from Carchemish, Sakçe Gözü and Malatya. These strands of evidence may support Kyrieleis and an Urartian origin for these ivories.

An Urartian tradition of wood and ivory carving

Some scholars consider that the Altıntepe and Toprakkale ivories were imported. However, technically there is no reason to accept such an idea. Sophisticated wooden furniture was worked both in Phrygia and in neighbouring Urartu, as can be illustrated by the superb, richly decorated furniture found at Gordion (Simpson & Spirydowicz 1999) and the many items of wooden furniture found in Tomb III at Altıntepe (Özgüç 1969: 70, pls. xix-xxii): ivory, of course, is worked in the same way as a hard wood, using the same tools. Furthermore, the list of booty taken by Sargon II from the palace and the Temple of Haldi at Musasir included items of furniture made of ivory, ebony and boxwood (Foster 2005: 809-810). Assyrian tribute lists make it clear that other centres in the region also favoured wooden furniture, particularly that made of boxwood. Unqi gave Ashurnasirpal II couches and beds of boxwood decorated with trimming (Grayson 1991: 217-218, A.0.101 iii 72-77) and Carchemish provided beds and thrones of boxwood, as well as a gold couch with trimming (Grayson 1991: 217, A.0.101 iii 65-68). Ashurnasirpal II received couches of ivory decorated with gold from Bit Zamani (Grayson 1991: 211, A.0.101.1 ii 118b-125a) and ivory couches, chests and thrones decorated with

[1] The ivories from Nimrud are published in the series *Ivories from Nimrud* abbreviated as *I.N.* For *I.N.* I to VI see Orchard 1967, Mallowan & Davies 1970, Mallowan & Herrmann 1974, Herrmann 1986, 1992, 2009.

silver and gold from Bit Adini (Grayson 1991: 216-217, A.0.101.1 iii 61-64). This all suggests a flourishing wood and ivory-working tradition in a region richly endowed with a variety of woods.

Ivories from Altıntepe and Toprakkale

The discovery of actual ivory pieces at both Altıntepe (Özgüç 1969: 78-93) and Toprakkale (Barnett 1950) also supports the existence of an ivory industry in the area (Fig. 23.01). Most of the Altıntepe ivories were found in a gallery of the temple, next to the entrance of the courtyard (Özgüç 1969: 60). They consisted of a pair of openwork eagle-headed genies and part of a third (Özgüç 1969: 80-81, pls. xxxii-xxxiii, xlix); some lions, one seated upright, snarling with turned head (Özgüç 1969: 82-83, pls. xxxiv-xxxv), another couchant and part of a third, once possibly forming parts of a bronze tripod base (Özgüç 1969: 83-85, pls. xxxvii-xliii); an openwork deer (Özgüç 1969: 86, pl. xliv); two inlays from faces, parts of composite statues, together with hands and arms from statuettes (Özgüç 1969: 86, 91, pls. xlv, xlix, ii); plaques with palmettes and winged discs (Özgüç 1969: 87-88, pls. xlvi-xlvii), and a fragment with part of a fortress. Some ivories were also found in the Altıntepe tombs: a tiny hand and a set of four plaques decorated with stylized trees of a type well-known in Urartian art and generally agreed to have been of Urartian manufacture (Özgüç 1969: 92-93, pl. xlix, 2 and l; Piotrovskij 1950: 90).

Unfortunately the excavation under the *firman* of Hormuzd Rassam of what was probably the Temple of Haldi at Toprakkale was a disaster and was essentially unrecorded. Rassam appointed Captain Emilius Clayton, the British Vice-Consul at Van, to work there, assisted by an American missionary, Dr. Raynolds. Their only report was a letter to Layard which Barnett published in his article in *Iraq* (1950), together with what could be retrieved of their work. They found bronzes which would have formed parts of a throne (Seidl 1994b: 1996) and some ivories. Because the ivories were fragmentary, comparisons between Toprakkale and Altıntepe are limited.

Like the Altıntepe ivories, the Toprakkale pieces were Assyrianizing in style. They included two openwork eagle-headed genies, one white and the other ebonized (Barnett 1975: 229, W.13-14, pl. cxxxi), reminiscent of the ivory and ebony furniture seized from Musasir. They are generally similar to the Altıntepe examples,

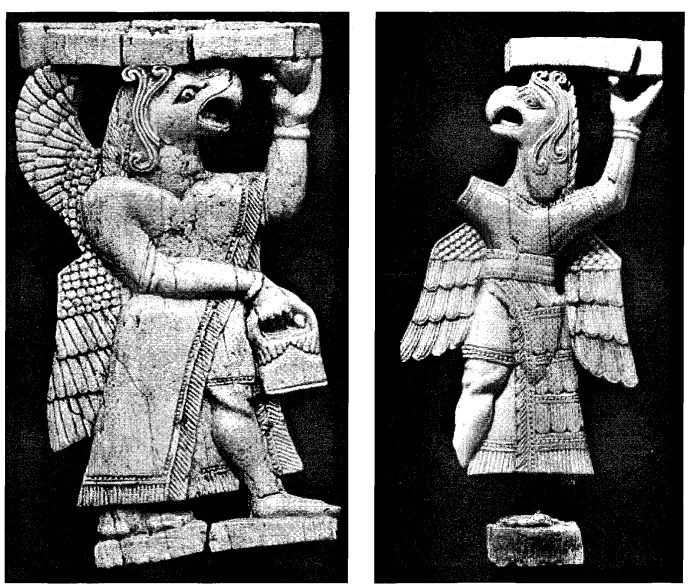


Fig. 23.01. Ivories from Altıntepe (left) and Toprakkale (right).

although slightly more sophisticated and had probably been worked in a different workshop/centre. Parts of human statuettes include the back of a male statuette (Fig. 23.08a), and fragments of others, including the torso, arms and hands and parts of faces (Barnett 1975: 228-229, W.1-7, W.16-17), as well as a nude female with a rosette crown, originally standing on a small palmette (Barnett 1975: W.4, 229, pl. cxxix; 1950: 10, 16, fig. 7, pl. xiv 1, 3). As at Altıntepe, there were fragments of lions (Barnett 1975: W.9, W.11-12, 229, pls. cxxx-cxxxi) and half a winged disc (Barnett 1975: W.10, 229, pl. cxxx). Barnett later identified a second and more complete winged disc (Fig. 23.07c), which he considered came from Toprakkale, quoting a report to the Trustees of July 24 1880 that refers to a 'representation of a winged disc in ivory' from Toprakkale (Barnett 1975: 228, V.12, pl. cxxv; Kyrieleis 1965: 202).

Although the range of material is limited, comparisons between the griffins and the winged discs from Altıntepe and Toprakkale (Figs. 23.01 and 07) are convincing and support a common source for the ivories from both centres (Özgüç 1969: pls. xxxii-xxxiii, xlvii-xlviii; Barnett 1975: pls. cxxxi, cxxx, cxxv).

The Rawlinson panels

Rawlinson found his ivories in a room adjacent to the 'Room of the Bronzes', Room AB (Figs. 23.02 and 09). He probably found them in Room V, to the east of Room AB. Room V had been the bathroom of the king's suite of the North West Palace but was converted into a treasury by Sargon II during his restoration of the palace.

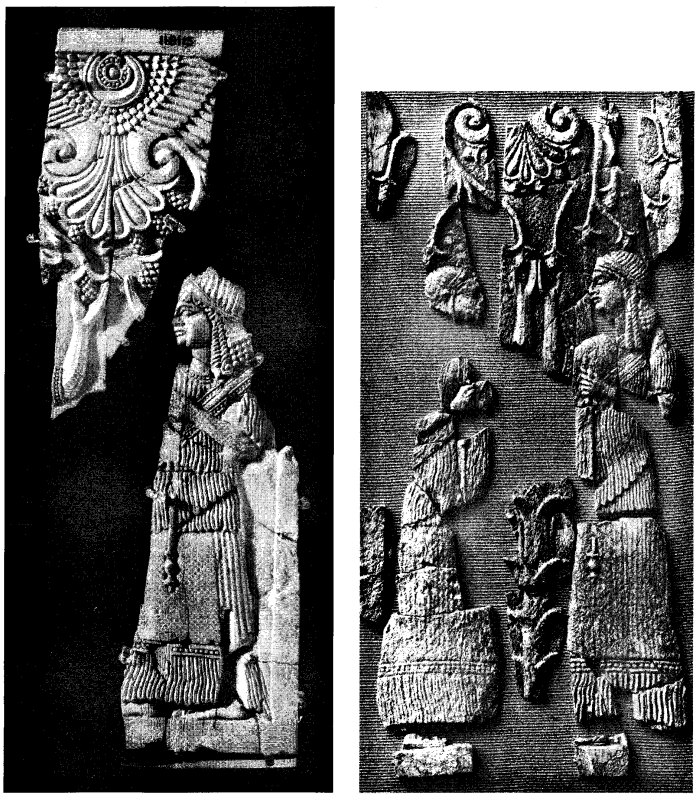


Fig. 23.02. Assyrianizing panels found by Rawlinson, probably from Room V of the North West Palace with pairs of youths protected by an unusual form of winged disc (Barnett 1975: F.1-3, pls. x-xii; Herrmann 2009: nos. 204 and 202, pls. X and 30).

Layard found the majority of his ivories in the doorway between Rooms V and W and found fragments of ivories similar to Rawlinson's in the adjacent Room X (Herrmann 2009: 173 no. 195, pl. 27), while Mallowan found a fragment in Layard's debris in Room V (Herrmann 2009: 191 no. 186, pl. 27). The probable provenance of Rawlinson's ivories is of interest, for Rooms V, W and X contained only Levantine ivories, no Assyrian and no North Syrian: these were presumably booty from a western campaign. Layard also found some stylistically similar but unprovenanced pieces, including an unusual form of stylized tree carved on a thick piece of ivory (Barnett 1975: D.10, 181-182, pl. x; G.6a, 184, pl. vii; Herrmann 2009: 174 no. 200, pl. 28).

Rawlinson's ivories consisted of four fragmentary panels with pairs of youths plucking fruits from winged discs (Fig. 23.02, Barnett 1975: 183-184), a reversed lion, held by a pair of heroes (Fig. 23.09, Barnett 1975: 184), and some strips with a double guilloche design (Barnett 1975: F.5-7, 184, pl. xii).

The form of the winged disc on the panels with the youths is unique. The disc itself is beaded and is set on a crescent within a V of scales, spreading out into the wings: the volutes were separated by a large fan of petals or tail, between the ends of which were set pine-cones, while long tendrils grew from the volute ends with more pine-cones with sepals, called here 'sepalled pine-cones' (Barnett 1975: 183-184). The youths are tall and elegant and flank an unusual form of plant or tree. Their inner arms are raised, plucking fruits growing from the winged disc, their other arms hold reversed sceptres or maces. Their hair is tied with a wide fillet or diadem, is waved over the head with ringlets in front of the ear and ending in a band of curls. They wear long garments with deep fringed shawls and hems, and single or double crossed straps on their chests, and shoes with pointed toes. The two panels were carved by different hands, visible, for instance, in the representation of the hair.

A common visual vocabulary

Barnett compared the panels with youths with a well known relief from Sakçe Gözü showing a pair of gods flanking a stylized tree below a winged disc (Fig. 23.06). It is a good comparison. However, it is less compelling when it is set within the iconographic language of the area. A common regional visual language was employed across the media in the early first millennium, perhaps best shown by similar versions of a banquet scene shown on the sarcophagus of Ahiram from Byblos and an ivory pyxis from the North West Palace (Fig. 23.03). This pattern of a common vocabulary carved in a variety of styles has long been known on the orthostats found in a range of early first millennia Levantine polities, such as the ongoing series at Carchemish, Zincirli, Sakçe Gözü, Malatya and Tell Halaf (Orthmann 1971). Their variety of styles reflects the political situation at a time when relatively small states were striving to establish specific artistic styles within the regional iconography, to be applied as a recognizable, artistic signature across the media.

The motif of men and plants or trees was popular from Phoenicia to Assyria, although the presence of a winged disc was optional and could be replaced or supplemented by a frieze of *uraei*. Assyrian versions were carved on the walls of Ashurnasirpal's palace. A typically North Syrian ivory example is a pair of two-register panels with men and youths protected by friezes of crudely hatched *uraei,* found in the Queen's Treasury in Fort Shalmaneser (*Ivories from Nimrud* V nos. 119-120). This particular design had probably been corrupted from a Phoenician version where paired Pharaoh figures hold sceptres and jugs below winged discs and friezes of *uraei,* a design probably based on an Egyptian original (Cecchini 2005). However, perhaps the best examples of the popularity and variety of representation of this motif are the panels found in Room SW7 of Fort Shalmaneser, where numerous sets of panels depicted single men, rather than pairs, flanking plants.

Uniquely, a number of these panels were found in their original setting, forming the backs of chairs or thrones. What is of interest is that the chair-backs and associated panels were of varied shapes and sizes and were decorated in different styles, suggesting production in different centres. However, Irene Winter has consistently maintained that these furniture panels 'are generally attributed to a single centre of production, despite the fact that they show a remarkable range of quality in the individual plaques and panels that constitute the chair backs ...' (2005: 33-34; 1976). An alternative reading of the same evidence suggests that they represent multi-centre production, a suggestion supported by the varied forms of the actual chair-backs preserved in SW7.

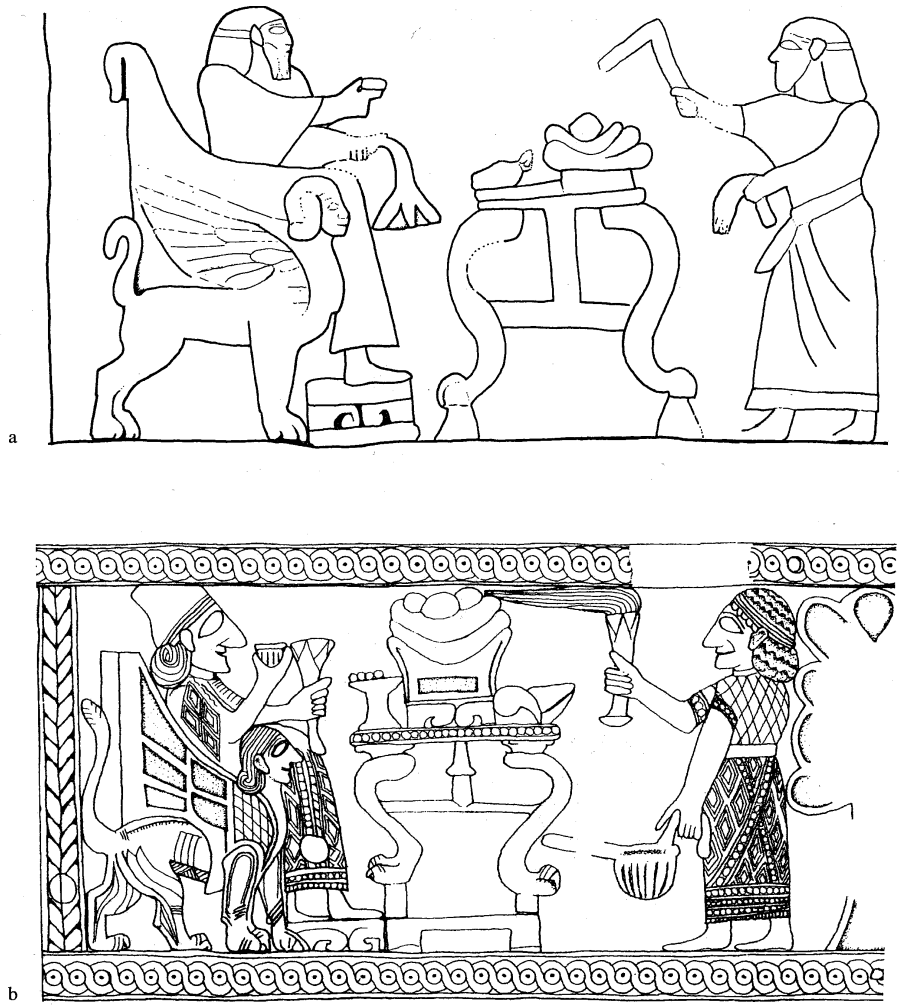
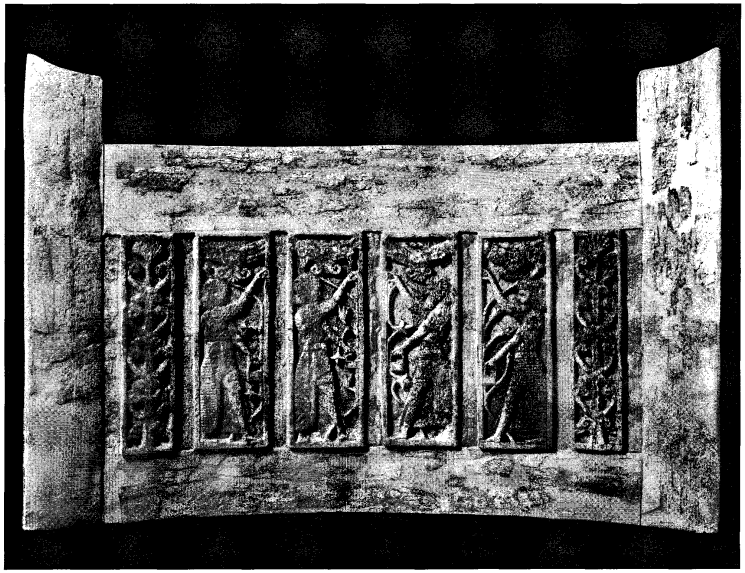


Fig. 23.03. Details of banquet scenes a. on the sarcophagus of Ahiram from Byblos; and b. on an ivory pyxis from Well AJ, North West Palace, Nimrud, drawn by D. Wicke.

It is well known, and can be easily proved, that the use of furniture – and many other household items – is and was deeply conservative. It reflects social traditions and customs. Such conservatism is still evident even today in our multi-cultural world: for instance, tea is drunk in bowls in China and Central Asia, in little glasses in Iraq, and in cups in Europe. Similarly, the forms of chairs, tables and beds are often specific to areas, as was demonstrated by Symington (1996) for early first millennium Neo-Hittite and Aramaean sculpture. Typical regional variations can be demonstrated by comparing, for instance, an Egyptian chair, the chair on the eighth century tomb stela of a noblewoman from Zincirli (Akurgal 1962: pl. 130), or the upright Assyrian throne (Curtis 1996a).



a

b

Fig. 23.04. Two chair-backs: a. with side-posts of 'Classic SW7' type, from *I.N.* III, no. 22; b. with a curved back and no side-posts, from *I.N.* III, no. 46.

At least five different shapes of chair-back are represented in SW7. The best known is the 'Classic SW7' chair-back, where a pair of uprights or side-posts supports a curved back with panels carved in a sophisticated style (Figs. 23.04a and 23.05a: Herrmann 1996: 156-157: *I.N.* III, nos. 1-18, 22-37, 52-56, 67-69, 89-94, 99-102 and possibly 104). A different curved chair-back lacks side-posts, and the panels differ from the 'Classic SW7' type in shape, size and style of carving (Figs. 23.04b and 23.05b: *I.N.* III, no. 46, pl. iii-iv). Panels from three other sets from SW7 belonging to different style-groups are shown on Fig. 23.05, the 'vase-hat man' of Fig. 23.05c, a remarkably provincial example, Fig. 23.05d and an extraordinary version of the 'men and plant' motif where the winged disc is trodden underfoot, Fig. 23.05e. Differences between

Fig. 23.05. Five panels belonging to different style-groups from Room SW7:
a. 'Classic SW7' panel, *I.N.* III, no. 5; b. panel from Fig. 23.04b chair-back, *I.N.* III, no. 46;
c. 'vase-hat man' panel, *I.N.* III, no. 38; d. 'provincial' panel from *I.N.* III, no. 64;
e. panels from *I.N.* III, no. 65, where the men stride over a foliate 'winged disc'.

the panels are obvious, from the unique type of winged disc surmounted by a female head of the 'vase-hat' man of Fig. 23.05c, to the floriate disc trodden underfoot of Fig. 23.05e. Equally, the proportions of the figures and the depiction of hair, beards, facial features, clothes, etc. all differ markedly. The panels are so varied in shape, size and style that had they not been found in the same room and illustrated the same motif, it seems inconceivable that the hypothesis that they had been carved in a single centre would ever have been suggested.

The sculptures from Sakçe Gözü and Carchemish, among other sites, fit into this iconographic world. Those from Sakçe Gözü contain a number of motifs comparable to the Rawlinson panels and to the ivories from Altıntepe and Toprakkale (Orthmann 1971: Taf. 50-51). The scene with deities flanking a tree is iconographically similar to the four Rawlinson panels but not stylistically: the deities are short and stocky and the central tree is typically Syrian: the winged disc is set above a crescent with fruits growing from the volutes, but the disc contains a rosette and is not beaded (Fig. 23.06). Equally, the youths of Sakçe Gözü A6 and A7 have hair-styles tied by fillets or diadems and hold similar reversed sceptres or maces, while the eagle-headed genie of Sakçe Gözü A10 (Orthmann 1971: Taf. 50a and 50c left) can be compared to ivories from Altıntepe and Toprakkale. However, the styles and proportions are significantly different.

Fig. 23.06. Gods saluting a tree from Sakçe Gözü (Akurgal 1962, pl. 134).

Similar figures can be seen on sculptures from Carchemish, especially on B.7: compare the general proportions, the hair and the reversed sceptre or mace (Hogarth 1914: pls. B.4-B.7). The tunic of the leading figure of B.7 is plain except for a pleated panel down one side, which is reminiscent of the rather crudely carved panel (Fig. 23.02b: Barnett 1975: F.2, pl. xii). Equally, the fragmentary winged genies from Carchemish (Orthmann 1971: Taf. 21-22, Ba/2-3 and Ba/6-5: Woolley & Barnett 1952: pls. B.35-36) are similarly dressed

to the Toprakkale genies. The Carchemish figures may well have been human-headed, although eagle-headed examples also exist (Hogarth 1914: pl. B.12: Orthmann 1971: Taf. 26, E/5). A winged disc from Carchemish consists of a simple disc above a crescent (Woolley & Barnett 1952: pl. B.36c).

Comparisons with Toprakkale and Altıntepe

Kyrieleis' suggestion that the Rawlinson panels were Urartian was partially based on comparisons with the winged discs on the Rawlinson/Layard panels with ivories from Toprakkale and with bronze siren handles. Kyrieleis pointed out that the type of winged disc above a crescent moon and with plants was derived from Hittite forms and also occurred at Sakçe Gözü. He compared the Nimrud discs with the winged disc probably from Toprakkale, which consists of a beaded disc above a crescent set within a scale pattern spreading into wings but with an additional scroll above (Fig. 23.07c). A similar scroll can be seen above a disc incised on a bronze furniture foot from Toprakkale: this also has a pair of long stalks with flowers, possibly sepalled pine-cones (Barnett 1950: pl. iii). Fragments of openwork winged discs from Altıntepe are similar to the Toprakkale disc, although lacking the scroll (Özgüç 1969: 51, fig. 47).

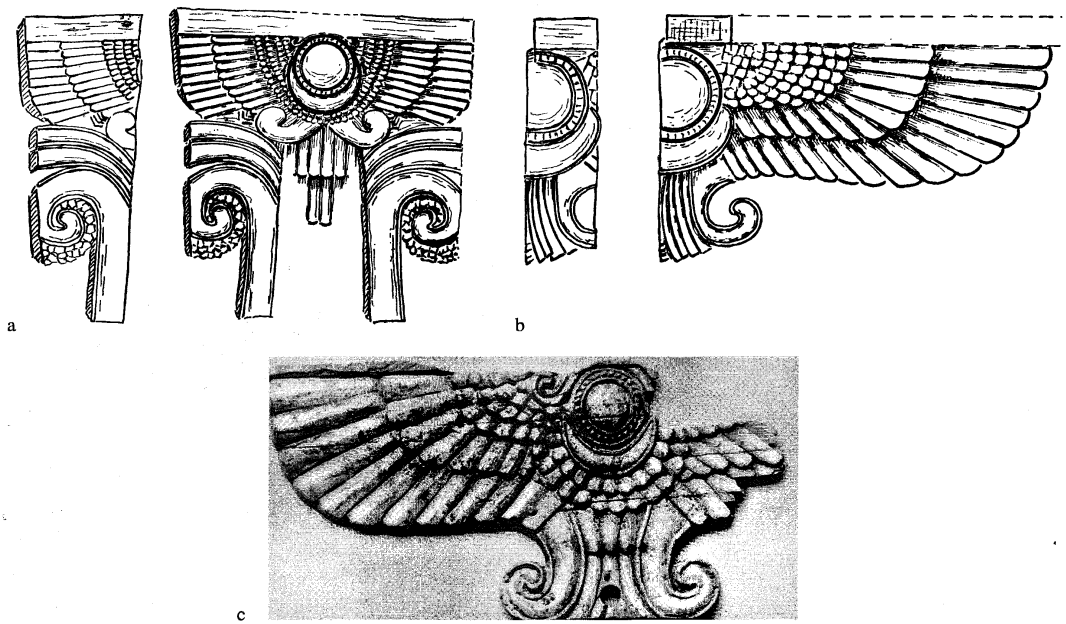
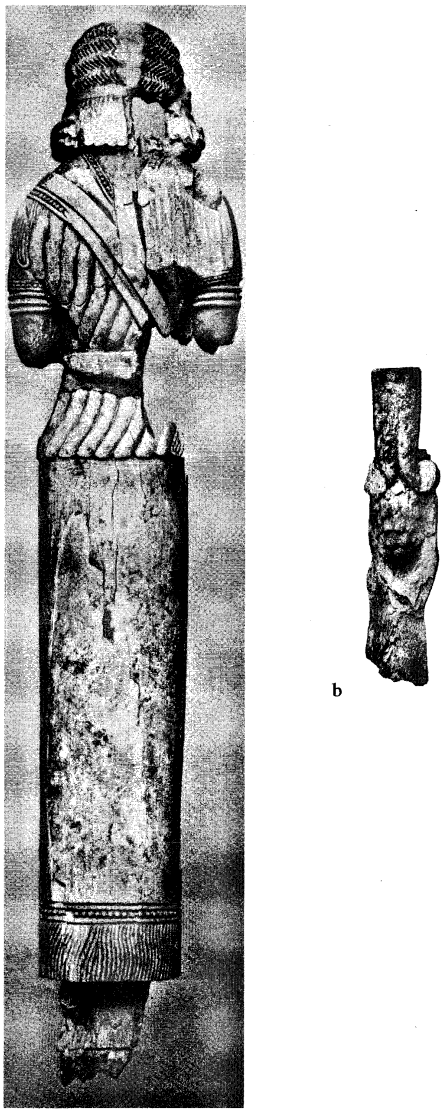


Fig. 23.07. Winged discs, a and b from Altıntepe (Özgüç 1969: 50-51, figs. 46-47); c. probably from Toprakkale (Barnett 1975: V.12, pl. cxxv).

The Rawlinson youths can be compared with the standing male, W.5, from Toprakkale (Fig. 23.08a). Like them, he has a wavy hairstyle tied by a fillet or diadem and wears a long tunic with beaded V-neck, short sleeves, and beaded and fringed hem, and a fringed shawl and strap crossing over the shoulder and wrapped round the waist (Barnett 1975: pl. cxxxix). Compare the waving of the hair with Barnett 1975: F.1 (Fig. 23.02a) and the shoulder strap and fine carving of the garment banding and borders (Barnett 1975: pl. x). A similar hairstyle, lacking the fillet, is shown on the fragment W6b (Barnett 1975: pl. cxxix). Also similar are the garments with beaded hems worn by the openwork griffins from Toprakkale and Altıntepe (Fig. 23.01, Barnett 1975: 229, W.13-14, pl. cxxxi; Özgüç 1969: pl. xxxii-xxxiii).

The design of a lion held upside down by a pair of heroes shown on one of the Rawlinson panels (Fig. 23.09) can be seen at Carchemish but is also featured in the form of a 'mistress of animals' on bridle harness frontlets (Hogarth 1914: pl. B.11; Orthmann 1971: Taf. 26, E/3: IN I, nos. 136-138, 143, 147). The snarling lion with turned head of F.4 can be compared to a fragment from the Burnt Palace, S360g, and to a statuette found at Altıntepe: compare the eyes, mouth, and the extensive use of cross-hatching (Barnett 1975: pls. xii, xcix; Özgüç 1969: 42, figs. 39-40, 82-83, pls. xxxiv-xxxv). The lion's forepaws are standing on a short pair of volutes, a feature from which some palmettes rise on part of the bronze throne from Toprakkale (Barnett 1950: pl. ii).



a b

Fig. 23.08. Toprakkale, a. a male statuette, and b. a fragment with a hand holding a sepalled pine-cone (Barnett 1975: W.5, pl. cxxix, and W.16, pl. cxxxi).

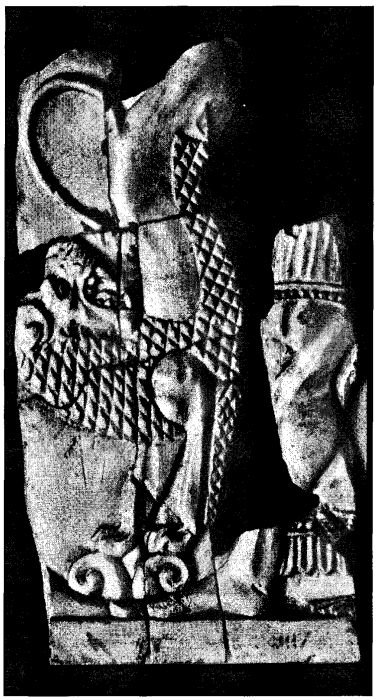


Fig. 23.09. Assyrianizing panel with heroes holding a lion found by Rawlinson (Barnett 1975: F4, pl. xii; Herrmann 2009: no. 206, pl. X and 30).

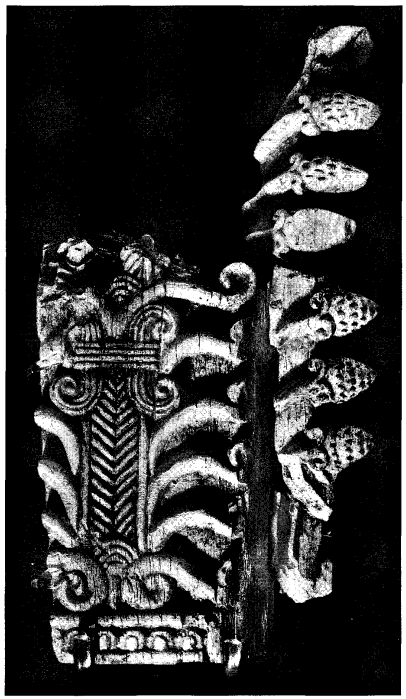


Fig. 23.10. Assyrianizing tree found by Layard (Barnett 1975: G6a, pl. vii; Herrmann 2009: no. 200, pl. 28).

A significant comparison between material from Nimrud and Toprakkale is the distinctive 'sepalled pine-cone'. A fragment found by Clayton shows a hand holding one (Fig. 23.08b: Barnett 1975: W.16, pl. cxxxi), while at Nimrud, in addition to those plucked by the youths, it is represented on an unprovenanced Assyrianizing piece with an unusual form of stylized tree found by Layard (Fig. 23.10: Barnett 1975: G.6). The trunk is decorated with chevrons, is tied at the top with volutes and has tendrils with sepalled pine-cones growing from it. Dirk Wicke pointed out that this stylized tree can be paralleled with some on plaques recovered by Godard from the looted treasure of Ziwiye (Godard 1950: 83-85, figs. 72-74; 1965: 94, fig. 117; Ghirshman 1979: 41, pl. viii, 3-8, 43, pl. xviii, 7-8; Charlesworth 1980b: Fig. 1e). They share similar chevroned trunks, tied at the top with voluted elements, and with double branches with pine-cones and sepals, but, of course, the Ziwiye examples lack any context, although it may be significant that they were published before the ivory from Nimrud. Finally, a sepalled pine-cone can be seen on a bronze disc growing from the wings of a winged god supported on a winged horse from Altıntepe Tomb 3 (Özgüç 1969: 68, pl. xxv, 1).

It is not surprising that, with Assyria the dominant super-power across the ancient Near East, Assyrianizing art was popular, and versions of it can be seen from North Syria across southern Turkey to western Iran. Urartu itself was a major power in the eighth century, in conflict with Assyria and in political contact with Sakçe Gözü in the west (itself possibly part of the expanded Urartian empire), and campaigning in western Iran. With the similarity of the ivories from Altıntepe and Toprakkale, the technical competence of the area, the furniture found at Altıntepe and the large quantities of ivory and wooden furniture collected by Sargon II from Musasir, there is little reason not to accept that these ivories were carved in Urartu rather than imported or forming part of a diplomatic exchange of gifts. The slight stylistic differences between the two assemblages might suggest production in two rather than a single centre of production.

Where do the Rawlinson panels fit into this Assyrianizing world? Were they made in Urartu as suggested by Kyrieleis or in 'North Syria' as proposed by Barnett and others? There are a number of style-groups recognized as 'North Syrian'. These include the 'flame and frond' ivories, possibly forming part of the state art of Bit Bahiani (Herrmann 1989), the 'roundcheeked and ringletted', possibly from Zincirli (Wicke 2005), and various groups from Room SW7 of Fort Shalmaneser, of which the best known is the 'Classic SW7' group (Herrmann 1996). None of these style-groups resemble the Rawlinson panels. General comparisons between the Rawlinson panels and sculptures from sites such as Sakçe Gözü, Carchemish and Malatya are more of motif than style and reflect the common iconographic language in use across the area. There seems, therefore, little evidence to support a North Syrian origin for the panels.

The type of winged disc on the Rawlinson/Layard ivories, as Kyrieleis commented, is descended from a Hittite type and is distinctively different from the Levantine version with *uraei* framing a central disc common on Syrian and Phoenician ivories, so a northern rather than a southern origin is probable. Some specific similarities can be noted between the Rawlinson panels and the Toprakkale and Altıntepe ivories, including the range of motifs, the winged discs, the 'sepalled cone', the proportions of the figures, and the method of representing hair and garments. The major power in eastern Turkey/west Iran at this time was Urartu, and on balance it seems probable that the ivories found by Rawlinson were made in Urartu. Debate will undoubtedly continue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Modern works are cited by author and date according to the Harvard system. Internet sources are referred to either by the author's surname and the year consulted or, if the author's name is not known, the website and year consulted (e.g. de.wikipedia.org 2007). The editors have not sought to impose on the authors a single format for citing ancient texts, but have accepted the preferences of the contributors.

Abbreviations

AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw	W. von Soden 1965-1981. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden
AMI	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
AMIT	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*
BAR IS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
CAD	A.L. Oppenheim & E. Reiner (eds.) 1956-. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago-Glückstadt
CTN 5	H.W.F. Saggs 2001. *The Nimrud Letters, 1952*, Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud V, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
CTU	M. Salvini 2008. *Corpus dei testi urartei* Vols. 1-3. *Le iscrizioni su pietra e roccia*, Documenta Asiana 8, Rome
HchI	F.W. König 1955-1957. *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften*, AfO Beiheft 8, Graz
IFŽ	*Istoriko-filologičeskij Žurnal [Historical-Philological Journal] Patma-Banasirakan Handes*, Yerevan
I.N.	*Ivories from Nimrud*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
PNA	*The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAA 1	S. Parpola 1987. *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I. Letters from Assyria and the West*, SAA 1, Helsinki
SAA 4	I. Starr 1990. *Queries to the Sun God: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, SAA 4, Helsinki
SAA 5	G.B. Lanfranchi & S. Parpola 1990. *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II. Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*, SAA 5, Helsinki
SAA 7	F.M. Fales & J.N. Postgate 1992. *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration*, SAA 7, Helsinki
SAA 11	F.M. Fales & J.N. Postgate 1995. *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration*, SAA 11, Helsinki
SAA 15	A. Fuchs & S. Parpola 2001. *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part III. Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces*, SAA 15, Helsinki
SAA 16	M. Luukko & G. Van Buylaere 2002. *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*, SAA 16, Helsinki
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies

Sg 8 Sargon's Letter to the God Ashur. For the text see W. Mayer 1983. Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu – 714 v. Chr., Text und Übersetzung, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 115: 65-132

SMEA *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*

UKN Nos 1–370: G.A. Melikishvili 1960. *Urartskie Klinoobraznye Nadpisi [Urartian cuneiform inscriptions]*, Moscow. Nos. 371-533: G.A. Melikishvili 1971. Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi II. Otkrytija i Publikacii 1959-1970 gg. [Urartian cuneiform inscriptions II. Discoveries and publications 1959-1970], *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 1971: 229-255; 267-293

UPD I.M. D'jakonov, 1963. *Urartskie pis'ma i dokumenty* [*Urartian letters and documents*], Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva - Leningrad

VDI *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii [Messenger of Ancient History]*

ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*

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